

TWO LETTERS:

The One from a DUTCHMAN

TO HIS

Correspondent in ENGLAND;

The Other an ANSWER

From the

Said CORRESPONDENT:

(F C 411 J. A.)
In which most things of Note (that relate to, or
have been transacted in this Hostility) are
very fully handled.

With the present Condition of both Countries.

Printed in the Year 1673.

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LETTER I;

YOurs of the 4th, Instant (which supposes me here at *Hamborough*, and congratulates my arrival) came a day before me; for I left not *Amsterdam* so soon by a fortnight as you imagined. Your Accounts I have sleightly perused, but shall nothing to them till our Correspondents at *Bruges* and *Antwerp* send me theirs: nor can I stir from hence these seven Months; for (besides the business I told you of) I must expect the *Phoenix*, which will not arrive till *April*; and in it I hope to find as much of *I. B.*'s effects, as will near satisfy the debt he owed me.

Whilst I was at home (knowing the vain suspicions of the Rabble) I neither sent nor asked you any news; but now I am here, I by no means blame the desire you have to understand the posture of our affairs, & how they have been managed; especially since you pretend to no further an information (were I capable of more) than what any stranger that passes through the Countrey gives his acquaintance: I say I cannot blame this request, having now the same favour also to ask of you, for the Relations I heretofore saw, were often very false and uncertain; nor can this freedom I hope, be any prejudice to our respective Governours, for what may be great satisfaction and news to those in our sphere, is none to them, who have spies (we are sure) abroad, informing them at another rate of all occurrences. But before I acquaint you with our misfortunes (too well known to the world) I must beg pardon, if for my ease (my Letter being long) I write in Dutch, which wants, I confess the comprehensive harmony of your smooth and gentle Language.

That *John de Witt* was a man of parts, is held by not a few of our wise ones; yet either his ignorance in the state of your Kingdom (which has hidden mysteries in it not to be fathom'd, I think, by foreign Politicians) or God Almighty's particular Judgment on those that glory too much in the strength of their understanding, brought him to that dismal end, and with this misfortune also, as to be now esteemed a fool and a Traitor by the generality of his Countrey-men.

Two irreconcilable piques he had to *England*: First, because from thence he imagined, that the Prince of *Orange* would have a perpetual support, and be at length the ruine of him and his Cabal: And secondly, by reason of its strength, its Ships, its convenient Ports, & inclination to Trade, 'twould at one time or other ingross all negotiation to it self.

These thoughts prompted him, and the rest of them, instead of courting you in forrain Countries after the Peace, to countenance under hand all kind of private affronts & Libels that could be invented, to lessen you as well in our own esteem, as among our Neighbours and Allies, and well might we and our friends think, we had been your Match in the late War, when we often saw some of your Country men seem to yield, (by the hanging down of their heads) that we had had the better of you.

Though our Sea-men and Factors were thus a Gog, our Embassadors with you were sufficiently submissive and pliant, calling it the drunken mirth of some private Subjects, and assuring your chief Ministers, that our States valued your Monarch above all things; nor was it hard for them to believe this, seeing that he alone forced his Christian Majesty, in the height of his Conquest, to the peace of *Aquigrane*, and was the only Defence we had against our being invaded by him. Every body was satisfied therefore that the Great King of *France* had no Equal; but the Great King of *England*, and that he thirsted for nothing more, than liberty of falling upon us, who had broken (as he said) our Faith with him. He could never forgive us our underhand opposing his designs upon *Flanders*, which obliged our Governors, in spite of all in-bred animosity, to court you unto the triple Alliance, that would have preserved us (had it continued as 'twas once happily begun) in our old prosperous and flourishing condition.

England was not ignorant, to be sure, how much we wanted its assistance, and that it could never have a fairer occasion to oblige us to do Justice (as you termed it) to the Prince of *Orange*; who now was of a fit age to receive those honours, which the merits of his Family had as 'twere entailed upon him. But the ruling party, that feared nothing like this, resolved to obstruct it, though with the utter ruine of their Country. & therefore when all imaginable intrigues of theirs, could not make your King desert the interest of his flesh & blood, they privately offered his Christian Majesty what conditions he pleased, so he would but joyn his powerful Army, with their Fleet, and immediately fall upon you.

Having done this, and not doubting of the acceptance of their Proposals, they sent to our Admirals, who were cruising with several Men of War, to strike Flag to no single Ship of yours; nor feared they any inconvenience, because you had no number abroad. This they knew would force you by degrees to a quarrel, and yet not without some plausibility of reason on their side, it being a thing harsh in the general opinion of the World, that a Fleet in all its glory and strength should do obeysance to every Cock-boat, that owned it self of the Navy-Royal

Your

Your King soon resented this affront, and demanded Reparation with that warmth and vigour as was imagin'd, but whilst Agents were passing to and fro, his Christian Majesty either distrusting us, or thinking his game surer by having you his friend, not only refus'd our Conditions, but sends them to your King, who (as he thought) out of Interest or Revenge would now joyn tooth and nail with him.

Your willingness nevertheless to accomodate all things with us, was not so pleasing, as one would imagine, to *De wit* and his party; because they knew that your terms would be much worse as to their own interest than formerly; and therefore resolving to give you no satisfaction, they buzz'd in every bodies ears, that your King had not a penny of money; That most of your Parliament being our Pentioners, would give him none; That the whole Nation hated the *French*, that not a Seaman of yours would fight; that your Non-conformists would be up in Arms: and in fine after a thousand such lessening allegations, they declared it to be an unpardonable folly, to value or league with a people, that wanted both Fidelity and Power to help their Friends: all which noise spent not it self in vain, but caused thousands to believe you could do us neither harm nor good.

The first unlook'd for accident that touched our *Politico* to the quick, and made him tear his hair, was your King's postponing the Bankers, and converting the Receipts of the Exchequer to his own use; for now contrary to all expectation, he saw his Majesty might put out a Fleet of himself, & that your Subjects (who love not we know an overtopping Rival) would even for their own interest prosecute the War once a foot, let them be never so averse to it in the beginning. But the thunder clap that gave him his mortal wound, was the *Liberty of Conscience* so universally granted to the People; this brought the Devil a thousand times into his mouth, saying that nothing but he, who owed *Holland* a shame, could put it into your heads, and that shortly you would be as united as our selves, so that ever hereafter the Kings enemies must become the common enemy of the Nation: and I must tell you, 'twas not so in the last War.

The effects of the Toleration were soon perceived by every body; for many of your Country men at *Rotterdam*, *Delf*, *Leyden*, and else where in this Land, frighted heretofore out of *England*, upon the score of Religion, have now not only Longings homewards, but are also generally lookt upon by our people as so many Spies to betray us, whereas formerly no Dutchman was thought more faithful than they, to the welfare and interest of this Government; nay if this be not a wonder tell me

one, that a *Quaker* of yours at *Rotterdam*, should be so transported at the news, as to throw his *Hat*, which had been naild at least ten years to his head) into the fire, and to drink the Kings health with a *Vive le Roy* in his mouth.

For my own part, though two descents have not, I think, washed away all my *English* blood, yet upon the account of my Mothers kindred, and my own business, who knows whether ever with convenience I can quit *Holland* or no, but this I must tell you, that my two Uncles & their good-wives talk much of *London*, and therefore I shall desire you to inform me what real foundation this Indulgence has, that I may accordingly advise my scrupulous friends, for there has been no question more ventilated at any time in these Quarters. I do not, I'll assure you, ask this of you upon my own score, but theirs; for had my Grand-mother had so digestive or rather charitable a stomach as mine, I should have at present a greater interest in *Mark-Lane* than now I am ever like to have. Yet to speak to you with my old frankness, I am not able to conceive how a People so wedded to Persecution, as you were thought in the general opinion of the World, can so suddainly forget it, as not to be grasping at it again upon every slight pretence and humour; and thus having finished my request; let us if you please return to our *Fac-totum*, who had so grossly reckoned without his Host.

He was, you may easily imagine, much surprised at what had happened, yet outwardly no man seemed less, for in that way of disguise he was esteemed a great Master: never wanting some plausible gloss or other to lessen the dread that suddain accidents brought along with them. For as to the stopping of the Treasury, he pretended it the greatest advantage to us in the world, since no private man would hereafter trust the Crown let emergencies be never so great, and yet every Monarch must often borrow of his Subjects. And, as concerning the Toleration, he was not ignorant, he said, of the zeal and self-love of your Clergy; who one time or other would get it repealed, and that then all Dissenters would be ten times more disoblighd and implacable than before.

These and the former Reasons strangely satisfied the multitude, yet many an honest man cryed that we had been mistaken in our measures last war, that Kings find expedients when others little dream of them: That your Kingdom was a place whose Maxims and Secrets were not to be guessed at; for when we thought our selves wholly sure, & that you wanted either mony or men, Allies abroad, or Unity at home, and the like, still some accident or other happened to deceive and ruine us. But nothing can save them whom God infatuates; nor could this *Macchiavel*
keep

keep himself (as he imagined) above board without the rash attempt of neglecting your Friendship ; and having thus made a false step, he was forced in desperation to contrive (as they say) this following Treason.

He had for a long time kept fair with *France* , and was as much in the Kings books , as a forreign Minister could well be ; and this he did for a support in case his enemies (the Prince beginning to be the Joy of the People) should be able to contend, and if they absolutely got the better, then here should be a sure Refuge and Asylum for him. He continued (even after the Treaty at *Breda*) still in favour with that Monarch, who presently after daily more and more shewed his hatred to us : nor did the Faction fail to insinuate to the people , as if the Prince encouraged the King to a quarrel, to become thereby his Tributary, if he worsted us, or at least to be restored by the States to the Dignity of his Ancestors, since an Army and a General must be in vogue in a War, and every body knows how much the Souldiers loved and adored him.

They had been (as I should have told you before) busie to lessen also the Princes esteem in *England* , when they were forced in the year 70 to let him come over to you ; for they fancied, that because his Grandfather had by the assistance of our established Ministry (whom he protected) aggrandized himself, and so crushed the potent Arminian Faction, that they were all hated for a time by us ; therefore by the same rule ; if your Church men could be put out of conceit with him (I mean the present Prince) your People by their insinuation and power might be easily made averse and irreconcilable to his person, let the King be never so kind. Hereupon, to make him seem a Phanatick (which is the grand bug-bear of your Episcopal Government) they expressly ordered him never to receive in any of your Churches kneeling , but that the Minister should bring him the Bread & Wine, as he sate in his Pew or Seat ; for we called it an arrogant Institution of your Divines, as pretending to be wiser, forsooth, than all the Reformed World , seeing there is not one Protestant Congregation that ever knelt at the Communion besides your selves. Here they were again unfortunate, and the plot vanished in *smoke* ; for it seems your Spiritual Leaders (had they been disgusted) have not that influence over you as we once imagined.

Our *Juncto* were now in no little perplexity (you may be assured) nothing being able to hinder the encrease of his Highness's esteem in all our Provinces ; or to put any stop to the *French* Preparations , whilst on the other side your King called aloud for satisfaction by his Embassadors, who gave them also many a secret bite for their perfidious dealing with you, as he would have it.

But

But their private resolution was (as I said before) to give you no Reparation, and to sink sooner than to have your Protection, assuring one another that no Demand of *France* (though victorious) could be so destructive to their particular Interest as yours; nor is this kind of self ends any news to Christendom, since we daily see there are men in Authority that will rather submit to the Turk himself than miss of their aims, or fall into the hand of a Neighbour, whom they hate or envy.

'Twas therefore decreed to treat you with all possible fair promises, on purpose to make the *French* jealous, or thereby at least to puzzle their measures: and if they could by these Artifices keep you a Neuter, till Spring, you would not have time to set out your Fleet, so that by compounding with his Christian Majesty (who missing your assistance would be far more tractable) we should make you contemptible to both of us, and to the whole World also.

This was the Design, but it failed, for you presently shewed us you would not be amused, and therefore began about Christmas to equippe, and when they delayed you satisfaction, you became your own Carvers, setting on our *Smyrna* Fleet, which I must tell you, seemed a happy omen to some pretenders to *Wit*; and a presage to them of our future success, because you did not take them all.

'Twas now plain you were in earnest, yet there wanted not real good Patriots (though it seems they were deceived) that cheered both themselves and people, with a fancy that your Parliament, (which was without fail they said, to sit in *October*.) would question this War, and never contribute to it; for 'twas in all our mouths, that the whole *English* Nation was perswaded, that the whole Protestant Cause lay now at stake, and that the Pope was the Contriver of this difference.

Many also would have it advantageous to us, that the *French* Ships were to be joyned with you; because your own Fleet, (which you too well know we all dread) would not be so great now, as were you left to your selves; besides, they said that Auxiliaries sometimes by private Orders must not fight, at other times perchance they would not fight, at best there was to be a deference and winking at their faults, it being impossible for you to command them like your own Subjects: nay, some envious men rejoiced, that should you now be successful, and do all your selves, yet these Allies would certainly rob you of (at least) half the Glory.

Spring being now come, and the great Force both by Sea & Land almost ready to fall upon us, the Junta agreed to play their Cards thus, that is to say, they would put 10 or 12 thousand men at least into *Mastrecht*, as the place the Enemy would first attack, and therefore the Towns on the
Rhine

Rhine, being left unprovided, they must soon become a prey to his Christian Majesty, on whom they resolved (if the worst came to the worst) to depend, nay, rather on the Devil, than to be at the mercy of the Prince, and his Party, into whose hands they knew also they should at last fall, if the War were but procrastinated; for in times of Action, Souldiers will alwayes over-top Gownmen; besides, there being very little hopes by force to resist two such Monarchs (which is the best excuse the world generally makes for them) they thought fit to be thus before-hand, that their own Conditions and Terms might be the better.

But though they determined in this manner, as to *France*, yet they thought fit to try one experiment first, which would be an advantage to them, what way soever it succeeded, viz. To put out their Fleet with all the hast and privacy imaginable to intercept yours, before you joyned *D'Estres*; so that if you happened to beat us, they had a fair pretence of having done their indeavours for their Countrey, & then the French in our consternation might over-run us at pleasure: But on the other side, if by surprize or chance we should overthrow you at Sea, it would be easy to clap store of men into these Towns which (we now say) were designed to be lost, and no hard thing in the height of our Victory & Joy to make some agreement with the rest of our Enemies; and so to your loss alone, all things should be here just as they were before.

'Tis certain, one part of the Project was well carryed, for our Fleet weighed Anchor when few of our own News mongers thought it half ready; but what the success was, when we came to blows, you know, I am sure as well as my self; only this I must add, That *De Ruyter*, after the Fight, could not refrain saying to this purpose, That now he saw you were invincible, and more than men; for whether we caught you a sleep, or awake, divided, or together, we still returned with loss: And truly, who could imagine that a little Squadron, nay rather 6 or 7 Ships, should so long resist our whole Navy; and that your Duke should engage with so much valour and fury, as to change Ships (when refitting lost time) oftner than great Generals at Land have done their Horses.

We lost not above four Sail (or six as some say) but certainly we never had so many men destroyed, & our Fleet so torn before; & therefore not a few question whether we could have repaired, and been fit to fight again last Summer, supposing we had had no other enemy to distract us. But the French Inundation that presently followed, put it out of dispute; for the great *Sennacherid* (as some of our devout women called him) having taken 24 places in 22 dayes, we durst not bring our Ships into their usual Harbours, being fully assured, that not a Sea-man would stay in them; for

besides the fear of you, there was none but had in this publick calamity concerns enough at home.

This was our case, Sir, and now were we ready to yield up every thing, when it pleased God that *Utrecht* (like another *Capua*) or at least the strange rains, & ill weather, should put a stop to the Victorious French by Land, as also to the ruine your proud triumphant Navy was drawing on us, for what could have saved our *East-India* Ships, having no Allies, nor Fleet of our own to protect us, but a three months storm, which for the most part hastened them forward, and put you into a continual disorder, not permitting you to watch your prey, as otherwise you would have done: Nay, some on board have assured me, That had not the wind chopt about the same day, we got into *Embsen*; we must nevertheless have fallen into the very midst of you.

But our tumultuous People made no other use of this respite, which God Almighty had sent us, but to embue their hands in the blood of the two *De Witts*, after that strange and horrid manner you have heard of. I cannot (because of the consequences of it) justify this Violence, though many an impartial man thinks them to have been really guilty by their Treason of all our misery; as also of contriving the Princes Death, who now by the ill success of their Government, had got (as they ever feared) all Authority into his hands; yet there want not others, who will have it, That the *Orange* Party hired the Barber to accuse the Eldest Brother of having intentions of Poysoning his Highness; and that the rest of the cries against them are but meer Calumnies.

For my part, I will not positively affirm what is laid to their charge, only this I must say, that I have many more reasons against them both, than for them; but whether the Accusations be true or false, The Arminians have now lost their Head, and being hereby depressed, are so full of malice and hatred, that they care not who masters us, so those in power, share in the misery: and therefore a villanous Minister or Preacher of theirs (when even the Catholicks of all *Holland*, and particularly of that Quarter, would by no means assist or joyn with the French) brought them by a secret pass to the relief of *Woerden*; by the taking of which, we should, as many affirm, have regained half our Losses.

These good Actions have made many zealous Protestants much esteem our Papists (who you know are numerous) and to reckon them very true and faithful to their Countrey. But who could have thought that the House of *Austria*, those super-refined Sons of *Rome*, should be our only Supporters against a Popish King, whom the Pope himself has (I warrant you) blessed and congratulated for his Zeal in
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advancing of the Gospel. But in earnest Sir, let me tell you, The itch of propagating Opinions, and idle notions is (unless in your Countrey) quite out of fashion in Christendom; and I believe no body thinks that *France* in its intentions of Conquering us, ever thought of the Church; or that the Emperour troubled his head about Religion, when he deligned our Assistance: this was a frequent pretence about a hundred years ago; but time and experience has taught us all wit.

The powerfull entreaties of the Spaniards (who fear the loss of *Flanders*) were his Imperial Majesties principal motive in taking up Arms, though naturally, you may imagine, he is troubled to see the strength of one daily encrease, who has an eye upon the Empire, and hopes to succeed at the next vacancy. Nor does the surprize of *Lorrain* lightly stick in *Cesar's* stomach, which is both a member of the Empire, and appertains also, truly to Prince *Charles*, whose Protection he has long taken upon him: neither are his great Officers ignorant, that there's much profit and advantage in helping a rich and plentiful Nation.

Brandenburgh too has his ends, you may swear; and it encourages him not a little, that his great Master *Leopold* is concerned in our affairs. The Princess *Dowager* of *Orange* has also a mighty influence over him, and it may be you'll think it strange if she had rather have him our Patron, than her Grand-child; for she cannot forget (as her back-friends say) that he is Son to your Princess Royal, whose great Birth she could never brook, but envy. If we prosper, this Electour is to have, not only his own upon the *Rhine* free, which hitherto in a manner we kept from him; but also many other by-emoluments; and nothing encourages both Prince and Peasant like gain.

Our only hopes then at present, are in these Auxiliary Forces; and this advantage we have already got, that they have diverted *Turene*, and the main of the French Army, which would have undone us before this; and without all doubt, had not the Bishop of *Munster* been by their approach obliged to retire, we had not only lost *Groningen*, but with the whole Province, that of *Westfriesland* also: Nevertheless he has done us mischief enough, and says, He'll teach us to paint him in a Pontifical and Military habit, riding on a Hog: but who would have thought expressing him to be Master of the best *Westphalia-Bacon*, had been so great a Crime?

The Prince, who is all in all among us, went lately, with the whole strength he could make, towards *Liege* Countrey, in hopes of some great exploit, to repair his ill fortune at *Woerden*: How he will prosper, God knows; only this I am sure of, that our People will judge of the Conduct according to the success; and therefore his Friends do very much pity the

strange hard game he has to play ; for he must, as I said, have alwaies good luck if he hopes to please ; nor is he wholly to disoblige you, whom he has so near a Relation to ; and yet he must remember how easie it is for his Enemies to make him suspected by the people, who by nature are alwaies jealous and violent. Besides, if he stands in perpetual defiance of the late ruling Party, he'll find many inconveniencies by it, both as to his own, and to the publick good ; but if he protects or joyns with them (for many of them have made him great promises) the commonalty may chance to forsake him, and think of another ; and if that should happen, what assurance or relyance can he have on them, that have alwaies kept him under, and perchance design this way for his final ruine and destruction ?

If his condition be ticklish and ill, ours (I mean the Nations) is worse ; nay, as bad as it can almost be wished by you ; for there's scarce any Village that fears not to be burnt, or at least pillag'd before morning by the Enemy. Our sluices and damms are most of them pull'd up ; our draining mills destroyed, and that water which protected many places in the Summer, endangers them now if it should freeze ; so that Towns of consequence are in perpetual dread and terrour. Our Traffique is ceased, and little coming in, and less going out ; and, which is yet stranger, most of our Sea-men are forced for a livelihood to run a Privateering ; and when they get something, they must sell it at half the worth, seeing our very home-trade is quite gone by the loss of the *Mose* and *Rhine*, which heretofore brought us still so much gain and profit. No wonder then if the Poor cry for meat, when the Rich can hardly live ; and what Artizan can maintain his Family, when scarce any body will set him on work ? These are causes of Insurrections in our Cities, and perpetual tumults among the Bores ; nor have we had any comfortable news this long while ; but the fond exaggerations of our Gazetts, or sometimes the taking of a Prize from you, which to me I confess brings little joy, since it shows you are still busie in commerce, whilst our Merchants sit idle at home ; and though perchance *Sally* and *Algiers* may weary you this way, 'tis not to be done by a People whose whole glory and advantage depends upon Negotiation.

Peace is the thing I cry for ; and peradventure God will at length hear us, since we begin to make good use of this affliction and chastisement ; for with admiration I say it, There was never a greater change in any Countrey, and mercy alwaies attends a sorrowful and contrite people.

One thing I had almost forgot to tell you, which makes the whole world stand amaz'd, and wonder how they have been thus long deceived concerning you ; for all men of all Countries have ever cryed, That 'twas your Parliament that in truth governed ; your King being no body, or at
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most but half a Prince. This therefore made them generally conclude you an insignificant people either to Friend or Foe ; especially seeing there must be continual application in all business to both these Powers, which (as 'twas thought) instead of agreeing, strove to circumvent each other. But now the Scene is quite changed ; for since they have seen your King raise an Army, proclaim War, set out his Fleet, threaten Newters, assist Friends, pay every body, and all this of himself ; they confess you are a potent Nation, fit to be courted, and that the ballance of Christendome is in your hands. In short, take it upon the word of an honest man, This unexpected way of proceeding has done you over all Europe more real honour (and the honour of a Countrey is the best part of its strength) than any thing that has happened to you in this age.

Having thus fulfilled your commands in my plain and inartificial manner, which I am sure your goodness will pardon, though your admirable judgement cannot ; I say, having thus shewed my obedience, you must excuse my longing to hear from you, and I doubt not but you will as frankly inform me how things stand with you. I desire no intrigues of State (as I hinted in the beginning) but such an account, as, were I at *London* (and 'tis by your King's favour lawfull) every body there would give me.

When you write, direct your Letters to our Correspondent at *Antwerp*, who grows rich by the great business that runs through his hands in these troubles : for many Merchants of note (and now you may see how the world is changed with us) are compelled to such shifts, being scarce able to vent one penny-worth of Goods, without being beholden to others. Farewell, and God send us peace, which is the incessant prayer of

Hamburg
Decemb. 26. 1672.

Your Faithfull Friend and Servant,

F. C.

Reader, I hope you'll pardon this Translation, though it comes short of the Dutch Original : I put it in the nearest English I could, to express the Author's sense, and therefore take it in good part I beseech you.

LETTER II.

I Will not trouble you now with the private affaires betwixt us, since to thank you for your excellent and most satisfactory Letter, of the 26th. past is task enough, and far too much, were I to do it as it deserves: but how could I expect less, from one who had *Leyden* for a Mistress so many years, and (after the death of your father) so much experience in the world, leaving then the *Muses*, and your Dedication to Theologie, for this so profitable a Study. Yet for all I owe you many obligations, you must pardon me if I express my mind freely in every thing, and complain, even in the beginning, of your writing in *Dutch*, which (though I understand it) shews in you me: hinks that aversion to us, you ever profess against; nor can you have any pretence for this our unusual way of corresponding, unless resolving altogether to be critical, you prefer your Mother-tongue before one which you have acquired half by Art. This excuse is sufficient to me, who so well know your gentle disposition, and cannot but rejoyce at the profession you make, that you have not yet lost all your *English* blood; and therefore, I must again and again, repeat my entreaties. That you would come hither, and except of the Invitation of a Nation that exceeds (when 'tis confided in) even its own frank and generous promises.

As for *Holland*, I pity its condition, I'll assure you; but if God Almighty's particular Judgement (as you your self intimate) brought *De Witt* to that lamentable end; for glorying too much in the strength of his understanding, what could you in Justice otherwise expect, than some strange unparalleld disastre, their being no Neighbour whom you have not in your vanity affronted, and above all, *England* it self so kind and friendly to you.

One Maxime, I remember, you had ever in your mouths, That money was omnipotent, and therefore abounding in it; you could not possibly need or fear any thing; but now you see the fallacy of that opinion; and that you may want necessaries, though your Coffers are full, which (pardon me if I yet tell you) have been ever much emptier than you your selves pretended: and besides, none are sooner reduced to extremity, than trading people once out of their method and bias.

I must acknowledge as to my particular concerns, I was extremely glad at the Peace of *Breda*, and believed also you would remember the danger you risked in that War, having nothing in the least to satisfy your losses,

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but the Accident at *Chatham*, when we were wholly unprovided; and which you know we could have quickly redressed by a new Fleet, had not we then concluded with you. I say, I was glad of this Peace, but little dreamed to hear complaints on our Exchange immediately upon it; That you durst vaunt in your Gazetts to have forced several Princes in the *East-Indies* to forbid us their Trade; and that in the *West-Indies* our Colonies at *Surinam* were still detained, and not suffered to come home according to our late and solemn Treaty.

Several other of your injuries and scorns were daily to'd me, but none moved me inwardly more, I confess, than *Bracke's* his publick affront (who pretending to have broken the Chain at *Shereness*, and done all the other exploits in that enterprize) did in many places in the *Streights* (and especially at *Genoa*, *Legorn* and *Zant*) invite the Dutch Factory aboard him, clapping alwaies in the height of their jollity t^e English Colours under the Dutch ones, in token of our being Conquered, and that now we must trundle under you; but as for your denying to strike Sail, I was not in the least concerned, looking upon it as a madness, and that the Devil (as your *Politico*, you say, confessed) owed you a shame; otherwise you could never be incited to deny us a Right (which for its infinite consequences, we value beyond expression) even at that very time, when no body did or could defend you from the fury of *France*; but our selves.

Nothing 'tis true is more visible than the strange animosity and hatred, which your *factotum* (as you call him) and his friends bore us; yet I am so candid to his Memory as to be half perswaded, that the greatest part of his Treason, was the neglecting of the advice, which the old Prince of *Orange* left the State on his Death-bed: *viz.* To keep friendship with *England* upon any terms, and That your standing Army should ever consist for the far greatest part of mercenary Neighbours, and not of your own Subjects and Countrey-men: for what could be expected but the surrendering of Towns as fast as summoned, when the Souldiers minded trade more than their business, and when their Officers were both ignorant what an Enemy was, and disheartned by the cries of their Wives and Children? But this Council was contrary to the Designs of your democratical and self-interested Party, who know, Souldiers of Fortune will depend on their General, and that they should never domineer at the Helm, whilst this Great Commander had such power.

I think no man ought to wonder at our Kings inclination and zeal, for the establishment of his Nephew; which, let me tell you, we English look upon in a manner as his Right; for, was it fit, do you imagine, that so mighty a Monarch as the King of *Great Britain*, should marry his
Daugh-

Daughter to that Prince, were it not by a kind of custome of Nations (as we see in *Poland*, *Hungary*, the Empire &c. or by the private promises of your States assured, that their Children should enjoy the honours of their Ancestors; and if you once come to Gratitude, what people was ever more obliged, than you by this great and Princely Family.

I dare beleive you, that your Rulers were afraid of our engrossing all trade, since it has often with envy been repeated, that from 4 or 5 rich Merchants in the last Century, we have now an Exchange even crowded with such, that do, or at least are able to keep their Coach, and all things else proportionable.

Let me also add (to what I have already urged) this one advantage more we have over you: viz. A plentiful Countrey by nature, so that we depend not wholly upon Trade, whereas, you that are altogether its slaves, must by any ill accident, undergo great molestation and disturbance. And herein also you are extreemly unfortunate, that though you know you are ever to be beholden to your Neighbours, yet that Pride of yours which Riches create, will still make you recalcitrate and disoblige your best and surest friends.

Your present miseries, I am sure, convince you sufficiently of your base usage of us from time to time; and that you have now forced us (contrary to the natural inclination of either Prince or People) to be as well your Destroyers as Founders; and yet we would have defended you (had you but deserved it) with the same ease from this present attaque of *France*, as formerly we did from the fury of the powerful *Spaniards*.

England you think has some particular Mysteries in it, which often deceive forreign Ministers; and truly I am much of your sentiment, for I never heard more extravagancies and wronger observations in my life, than by Strangers concerning our Government and Policy; nay they have been so wedded to their opinion, and especially about the power of the Parliament, that all the assurances that knowing men of our Countrey could give them to the contrary, served only to confirm and harden them; and among this Sect of Politicians, tell me I beseech you, who was more obstinate than your self?

For how often have I told you (though to little purpose) That this Great Council, this Epitome of all *England*, had no life but what it received from its Prince, That it met only when he would, and again dissolved at the least motion of his lips; That being congregated from all parts of the Kingdome, it must needs know our several maladies, and having humbly proposed the remedy, leaves alwayes the full determination to the wisdom of their Sovereign; That our Monarchs having received from their
People

People the greatest free Demesne and Revenue of any Potentate in Christendom, had graciously promised thereupon never to take any money from us without our own tendering of it, and yet it was never known when publick Necessities call'd (though the Royal Exchequer has also its own Rivers of Plenty) but that this *Auguste* Assembly was ever more liberal in its offerings, than our Princes could be in their Demands. In short, Sir, you now know what the Kings of *England* can do, and confess that the world at length acknowledges its error.

But why do I repeat the mistakes of you Strangers in our more difficult and speculative matters, since you daily contradict even your external senses: for to this very moment shew me one Traveller in ten thousand, that calls *London* any more than one long Street; whenas there's hardly in the World a rounder and compacter City within its walls: and as for the Suburbs, do you but consider whether from the *Thames* to *Southampton*-house be so contemptible a breadth; and yet I might add to this (as they do in other places) the River, and whatsoever lies on the other side of it.

'Twas therefore not ill observ'd by those among you, who cry'd (as you say) you had been alwayes mistaken in your measures concerning us, even when you thought your selves most sure: and doubtless *De Witt* himself would have been of that opinion, had it not diametrically thwarted his Interest; and we see that an earnest and passionate inclination to a thing, often vitiates the greatest understanding and capacity: for how could he imagine (had he been in his senses) that any little pique between us and the *French* (which for these several years has had no other grounds but their vain humour in over-valuing themselves) could make us rather submit to the continual and real injuries we sustained by you, than joyn with them for Reparation?

If in this our conjunction you are conquered, we shall certainly have a share and proportion of the booty; nor will such an addition do us any harm. But, by the way, suppose *France* should alone, and to its own use subjugate your Country; yet I look not, I confess, upon such an incorporation and union (though it seem a Paradox) half so able to offend *England*, as were you only *bona fide*, confederated against us; and we know in part by the last War, what such a League can do.

For first, the Discipline of the *French* (who are so volatile by nature) will be ten times more lax by the extent of their Dominions, than at present; and if they should chance to have a careless, or less active Prince, they'll presently fall into intestine disorder & confusion: nor was there ever since the Creation of the World, a potent people in a Continent. (which is the

true Seat for an Empire) that can show fewer marks of their bravery than they; for though they have been alwaies in War, and a most powerfull Monarchy time out of minde, yet have they not one foot of Land out of *France* it self, except what they have got within these few years; and which in truth is not yet worth the speaking of. In the next place, no body must imagine that the Shipping of *Holland* will be the sixt part so considerable after the Conquest, as now it is; for the domineering temper of *French* Governours, and the obstinate self-will'd Genius of your people (that have been so long free as they call it) are so different, that most will rather beg than stay at home; and they that do chance to remain, will presently change in a manner their whole course of living: and thus it hath fared with *Dunkirk*, which formerly bred up as able Sea-men as any were in *Europe*; yet now it has nothing in it considerable, though this present excellent King be a greater Encourager of all Maritime Affairs than will fit, I dare say, on his Throne these many and many Ages.

But all this is but a fancy, as I said before, and though false, yet as true as some of the whimsies of your transcendent States-men, who were pleas'd to imagine *England* so foolish as to think the joyning with His Christian Majesty would prejudice the Protestant Cause; and yet your selves might innocently forsooth league with this very Monarch against us: besides, every body saw that neither we, nor you, nor any reformed State in Christendom apprehended then the least detriment to our Religion by it; and therefore, why I pray should it be otherwise now?

As for the postponing the Bankers, I never doubted but it would surprize your Grandees; and it was well reflected upon by some of you, that Kings find still Expedients when others little dream of them: nor was yet this a far-fetch't one, since there have been few Monarchies or States that have not done at one time or other the very same thing; nay, were your Bank at *Amsterdam* call'd upon, 'twill be found that in our memory it never had enough *in specie* to satisfie half its credit.

And as your Wise ones erred in the thing it self, so they may also well do it in their Conjectural consequences; for (believe me) the Crown will never want Lenders when it really stands in need of them; nor, can any man that has thus put out his money (except a few that may have had perchance some present occasion) be the least inconvenienced thereby, having for security the word of this King, the interest of his Successors, and the Reputation even of the Kingdom it self, which will never let so many good Subjects suffer, when their money (or what should have reimburs'd them) was spent in a necessary War for the honour and safety of us all.

'Tis the Sea, which surrounding us, keeps us from danger; and 'tis therefore

fore the Dominion of it which all our Princes have so carefully lookt after; for if to shew our Jurisdiction 'twas ever lawful to oblige your single Ships to strike to our least Man of War, we have still the same Reason and Justice to require it from your Fleet; since your whole Navy has no more Right in these Seas, then any one of your Vessels when it is alone; and if number and strength may pretend (as you say) to exemptions, that plainly declares War, and by it you own your selves Aggressors.

This was the cause that we set on your *Smirna* Fleet, which absolutely denied to pay us this duty: and if five of our Frigats were not able to take 50 Merchant Ships mounted with 20 and 30 Guns apiece, yet they suffic'd, with three more that came afterwards in, to sink your Reer Admiral, and to bring home some of the richest as Prizes, in spite of eight Men of War that convey'd them: And pray remember, you were here again Breakers of the Peace, seeing he that denies a Prince his usual Priviledges, declares *ipso facto* War against him; let them be before never so strictly leagued together.

These extravagant and accumulative injuries have at length caus'd a breach, the effects of which (as was expected) you already with sorrow feel, not daring now to put to Sea any Men of War, if there be the least probability of meeting ours: And truly for my part, though I commend alwayes the ingenuity and artifice of an enemy, yet I can by no means think your late setting upon us at *Sould Bay*, deserves the name of contrivance, because all Fleets must be at Anchor if they take in necessities; and when they are so, any enemy (the wind blowing fair) may have this so frequent and ordinary advantage.

There's no fence against this accident but Scouts, and ours gave us the alarm two hours before your arrival, and you soon found what resistance our very Vantguard could make; and had not we lost the most noble and famous Earl of *Sandwich* (whom nothing but a Fire-ship could master) this rencounter had been to us nothing but a pass-time, in which notwithstanding you lost I dare affirm, neer double the number of what has been very publickly owned by you.

But, though you had even then a strange mist, and other happy hits to stand between you and utter ruin, as also afterwards a three months storm (as you justly call it) for the protection of your *East-India* Fleet, yet I know the proudest of you are now convinc'd that there's no dealing with us; and truly when I consider our Ships, our Men, our Commanders, and above all, our great Admiral (who has given the world such proofs of his prodigious Valour and Patience, Virtues that at last will conquer even Fortune it self) I may without vanity, I think, and with all the Justice

imaginable say, we need never fear any thing here in *England* but our sins.

As for *Liberty of Conscience*, 'tis no marvel if it were *De Witts* nicking blow; for doubtless no one thing ever settled a distracted Country in so much Unity as this. His Majesty for 12 years together suffered the Laws to be often severely executed against all Dissenters without exceptions, which had no other effect, but to incense most of them so far against the Government, that they had no manner of regard or tenderness for it, nay many (like sick men that vainly expect ease by change) rejoic'd at ill news, and seem'd earnestly to wish our ruine; and doubtless were not *Great Britain* an Island, we had been over-run long ago. But now on the contrary, no people speak more reverently of the King than they; nor do I know any one Sect here among us (though I am surrounded with their Meeting-houses) that has committed the least scandal since this his Royal Grace and Freedom.

And now whilst it is in my head, let me tell you, that if the *Rotterdam Quaker* turn'd Hector upon notice of this Indulgence, it had such efficacy over his Brethren here, that whilst it was but in projection they suddenly became Wits, and ventured to jeer the Players themselves, their piquant and sworn Enemies. For the King's Theatre hapening to be fir'd, with many hundred pounds loss to the single share of Mr. *Hart*, an Actor; One of these Spiritual Drolls being ask't at their Assembly next day, what news was stirring? None friend, (said he) that I know; but that the King's Meeting-house is burnt; and so gave the joyful Auditory a full account of all particulars: Nay then (replyed the Demandant) we need no longer fear those blasphemers of the Saints; for now without doubt their *Heart is broken*.

But to come to your Quere concerning the duration of this Grace, be pleas'd to understand, that though there be among our wise and learned Clergy some *Demetrius's* that value their *Diana*, and private concerns before the Tranquility and Settlement of the Nation, yet these (which is the happiness of it) are so inconsiderable in every respect, that you may assure your friends, 'twill never be in their power to perswade his Majesty to recall his Declaration, which all men of parts do now acknowledge to be the Bond of Peace and Unity among us.

Nor need you fear that any Congregation will be excluded, because it frustrates the very intention of the Favour, by affrighting all Dissenters whatsoever; for if any party be excepted, it must be because they are not considerable enough to be apprehended by the Government; and then will the weakest of the Tolerated take the Alarm, and so from one to another 'twill presently infect the whole Body in general. For which Sect

can assure themselves but that from a numerous Party (since Religion also has its ebbings and flowings) they may soon become Christ's little flocks; and if so, they are certain beforehand to find no Mercy.

Such an Exclusion also is wholly opposite to the King's Honour and Interest, his merciful Disposition and Temper having gain'd him the affection of the Non-Conformists, and is the grand thing on which they all rely; for Political Indulgence (they say) may change with every wind, but what Nature has established ought to be look'd upon as fixed and permanent.

But how comes it to pass unless you continue overvaluing your selves, and taking wrong informations of us, that you think we are the only Wranglers in Christendom about Religion. I must again assure you, you have very ill intelligence; for we now understand, as well as the rest of the World, that true Protestant Doctrine, viz. *That all Well-living Christians may be saved*, and therefore with reason despise those that persecute for Conscience, which the Judicious also find to be the true cause of the spawning and growth of Sects. For be pleased to know, that though we have abounded in all other opinions imaginable, yet no man ever heard of an English Lutheran; and truly could I have notice of such a wonder, I would (as old as I am) go 20 miles afoot to see him.

Now I hope you do not believe that *Henry* the 8th's Book against that Patriarch, did so absolutely convince the Nation, that it could never since digest his Tenets; for, were this the cause, what would have become of us all, had *Calvin* received a broad-side also? No Sir, the reason is evident, to wit, he never drew blood from the one, or made the least Law against him, whereas he so worried the Disciples of the other with his 2 leasch of Articles, that the Doctrine became as fixed as *Tyburn*, the Post they were so often baited at.

Thus dealt also *Queen Elizabeth* and her Brother with our Anabaptists and the then Sectaries, drawing from them that blood which might have endangered their suffocation. Nay, in the like manner served she our Jesuites, for having caught *Campion* (who, together with his companion, were the two first, as *Cambden* tells us, that ever came into *England*) he was no sooner quartered, but from a few wandring Scholars without Stock, without Houses, without Patrons, and absolutely beholden to other Provinces, they became presently (even by assistance of *Parsons*, who was he that escaped) not only to be a body of their own, but Masters also of Colledges in *Spain*, *Rome*, *Flanders*, and where not? and courted ever after by several great Princes of Christendom.

And now that our Papists come in my way, who have I must tell you,

(for you cannot outdo us in any thing) shewed as much Loyalty here, as your own at home ; I say, now that we speak of these Papists, they also demonstrate not a little methinks , that Religions gain force by Persecution, especially seeing *Holborn* (the grand Road of those they stile Martyrs) hath with its inlets more of that perswasion, than any ten Streets, pick them where you will, throughout the City. Therefore (as a Corollary from this Theoreme) when I hear any man earnestly talk of suppressing of Sects, and that all decency and Ecclesiastical order will otherwise fall (fancies which his little private concerns prompt him to) I presently advise him to get two or three Sir *Johns* of his Party hang'd, and that I le hang afterwards if ever then we want either Tippet, Rochet, Cope, Organ, or any other such like weighty and fundamental parts of Religion.

In short, Sir, our eyes are opened, and we find that all Opinions in power have still used severities against their Adversaries, and therefore none ought to blame his fellow, seeing we have all erred and strayed, and followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts; for thus did *Henry* the eight, thus did *Edward* the sixth, thus did *Queen Mary*, thus did *Queen Elizabeth*, thus did *King James*, thus did *King Charles* the first, thus did the *Long Parliament*, thus did the *Rump*, but thus will not *King Charles* the *Second* do any more, who knows by experience as well as inclination what a virtue Mercy is ; and really it vexes me to see even Papists themselves call us into the list, and offer to shew, that we have executed more of theirs for Religion, than they of ours ; adding as an alleviation on their side, That it is less cruelty in any man to destroy eggs in their hatching, than a Covey that is pen-feathered and at its full growth : but now, as I said, our eyes are opened, and both they and you shall find we English understand good nature, and that *Non saremo sempre Polachi*, We will not alwaies be *Polanders*, who (besides their innate folly proverbially laid to their charge by *Italians*) could yet lately quarrel with one another even when the Turk himself was in the midst of them.

'Tis your Countrymen that are, in truth, our Turks, and perchance as faithless as they, yet this difference is betwixt you, that they have got as many Provinces, as you have now lost, though both happened by the same means, that is, by breaking Solemn Oaths and Promises.

One command more I am to obey you in, and then I have done ; and that is in giving you an account of the present State of the Country, which in gross I assure you is the same as formerly, but in Affection and Concord much better ; nor has any one Prophecy or Prediction of your partial *Juncto* even yet happened to us. Some Merchants of ours have lost, 'tis true ; yet yours, though they durst not venture out to Sea, have felt the

the fury at home, not only of Water, but of Fire also; as you will find by your Letters, which (like *Job's* several Messengers) have, I question not, brought you worse and worse tydings, since the writing of your last.

Nor will your people (I'll be bound) ever hereafter boast of the gain or advantage had by Capers, it being so like to that of our Carters and Porters, whilst the City was on fire, who got for the present sufficient for Brandy, but were ready to starve the following week, when not only their new but their old employment also ceased.

God send you a good Peace, & give you grace to accept it, if it be offered, which may perchance hinder your utter ruine; for otherwise there will be an Army, I can assure you, of above an hundred thousand Fresh men within your bowels next Summer, and a greater Fleet of ours than ever, blocking up your Havens under his Royal Command, who has already twice defeated you.

I have tyred you, Sir, sufficiently, though with truth, and therefore I will now stop here, after I have assured you, that nothing shall ever lessen my kindness and respects for you; and that upon all occasions I will be,

*Your most Faithfull Friend
and Servant,*

London,
January 16. 167².

J. G.